

# In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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## CIO Confirms In Fact

IN several recent issues IN FACT presented evidence that in at least a score of camps of the new US Army a large part of the instruction consisted of training to fight labor, smash strikes, quell "domestic disturbance." IN FACT showed the old army manuals, exposed as Fascist years ago, were again in use, and that instead of lecturing the 1,500,000 men on the reasons for national defense and the danger of Fascism, the soldiers were actually given typical Fascist training.

At its Nov 22 session, the national convention of the CIO passed a resolution saying, "This convention wholeheartedly denounces this practice and calls upon the President as commander-in-chief of the Army to direct that it be immediately stopped." (IN FACT knows of no other publication which produced considerable evidence of the condemned practice. IN FACT's reports were reprinted in labor papers throughout the US.)

## Where 5,000,000 Stand

THE CIO convention also took the following significant actions:

1) Approved FDR's foreign policy, declaring that "Hitler and the Nazi gov't, in their drive for world conquest, directly menace the security of the US."

2) Denounced Judge Sears and re-approved Harry Bridges, West Coast leader whose deportation is being sought by moneyed interests and professional redbaiters.

3) After listening to Saul Mills describe victory of American Labor Party in NYC, went on record for "full participation in the political life of this country, uniting its strength and resources with all other liberal and progressive forces."

4) Denounced shipment of oil to Franco, Mussolini and Hitler (via Spain, as frequently reported in IN FACT, on authority of Frederick Myers and President Curran of National Maritime Union.)

5) Denounced Jimcrowism, and other forms of native American Fascism.

6) Announced that its two objectives, unionization of Ford and Bethlehem, had been achieved, and more than \$1,250,000,000 in wage raises were won. (This last item may account for so much of the hate among National Ass'n of Manufacturers members, the commercial press, and redbaiting Congressmen, against labor. Some one has to pay that billion and a quarter.)

7) Denounced the FBI. "There can be no toleration of any political police, such as the FBI, in this country similar to the Nazi Gestapo, or any toleration of any agencies of the gov't, including the

Gallup Poll Shows Press Poisons Public Opinion ..... p. 1

Big News Agency "Caught Red-Handed in Slander" ..... p. 2

America First, NYC, in Coughlin Control by M and F Watson p. 3

IF the Gallup polls of public opinion regarding labor in general, labor unions, the right to strike, the so-called "defense strikes," and strikes in general, are correct—and there is still no evidence that these polls are far wrong although the wording of questions frequently gives the results the newspapers like—then it is convincing proof that the American mind is being perverted by the one powerful force capable of spreading enlightenment or confusion—the American press.

Every poll shows that the American people are united on one thing: national defense. The vast majority believes in production of war materials, and for their use in foreign countries to defeat Hitler. Labor is unanimous in this decision. The CIO convention voted Hitler a menace to the US as well as to the rest of the world and demanded American help to destroy Fascism. The AF of L and railway brotherhoods have declared themselves solidly for all-out defense.

But the Gallup Poll shows a majority wants to "curb" labor, blames labor for interfering with defense. It reports (Oct 26) that "Labor is losing favor with the public." If this report is true it means that the public has taken its opinion from its newspapers. And it is not a contention of IN FACT, but a fact established by years of investigation, and admitted by many commercial editors, that the press is generally anti-labor. As for labor editors, they vote 92% for the statement the standard press is unfair.

It is not the intention of IN FACT to give an opinion of the recent coal and railroad crises, or to defend anyone who impedes the defense of the nation. IN FACT, however, will present the facts the standard press omits and a few examples of the manner in which the public mind is poisoned on the labor question.

## Press Paves Way for Anti-Labor Laws

The coal strike is over but the anti-labor drive in Congress continues, pushed by Southern poll-tax Congressmen who represent minorities and other legislators elected by corporation money. And these efforts to halt labor's advance by repressive laws is helped along daily by the corruption of public opinion by the press.

Here is a survey made by Labor's Non-Partisan League (Nov 3):

1) When a strike occurs it is nearly always preceded by weeks and months of patient negotiations; strikes are called in 99 cases out of 100 only after all other means have failed.

2) Most strikes are caused by employers who obstinately continue to discriminate against union workers, refuse to grant reasonable wage adjustments or bargain collectively. Stubborn employers who refuse to obey the mandate of the National Defense Mediation Board are the real cause of industrial strife.

3) Gov't 1941 strike facts show that up to June, 34% were caused by refusal of employers to grant wage increases to meet higher cost of living.

This is the statement of labor. Here are facts about the action of the press, a few of the thousands of newspaper perversions which result in a Gallup Poll against labor:

1) In sending the Army to take over Air Associates (\$5,000,000 in defense orders) President Roosevelt said he did so because the corporation refused to obey Mediation Board decision. This statement, blaming corporation, was suppressed in the same papers which blame labor for a "defense" strike.

2) When the War Dep't insisted that Pres F. LeRoy Hill of Air Associates be fired, Rep J Parnell Thomas, of Dies Comm, protested. Unpublished was the fact that Hill refused to obey US Gov't because in addition to his \$14,250 annual salary he had signed contract with AA for 1% on net profits as bonus.

3) Scores of anti-labor papers headlined violence, blaming unions. (Example: "SHOTS, FIGHTS OPEN FIVE STATES STRIKE" and "LEWIS WARNS OF BLOODSHED" in NYWorld-Telegram. Compare with head in pro-labor PM which read:



"COAL STRIKE IN PENNA MOSTLY PEACEFUL." Violence headlines, and pure falsehood, such as the "LEWIS WARNS OF BLOODSHED," are the things which turn well-intentioned men against labor.)

4) The coal industry is 90% unionized, largely closed shop. Moreover, the only men affected were 53,000 of whom 95% are unionized. The trouble centered on 2,400 men, no more. Even the pro-Roosevelt Nation derided the Roosevelt statement that asking the 2,400 to abide by the decisions of their 50,000 colleagues "would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor." "This is to confuse majority rule with dictatorship," writes I F Stone.

5) Hundreds of newspapers yelled the coal strike was closing down steel plants. Either these headlines were false or the stories printed weeks earlier in the same papers saying the steel plants had been smart enough to provide a month's supply of coal were untrue.

6) Suppressed during all news and editorial attacks on the Railroad Brotherhoods, who had announced a strike of a million men Dec 7, were these facts:

Railroad operating profits through Aug 1941 exceed \$298,000,000 against \$29,000,000 in like 1940 period.

Rail earnings have reached a 10-year high. On the basis of 8 months' earnings, it is estimated that *net income* for 1941 will be close to \$500,000,000 as compared with \$191,000,000 in 1940. (Source: United Business Service, Oct 4.)

The railroads are capitalized at some \$18,000,000,000 with considerable watered stock. "They are virtually exempt from the excess profits tax"—E D Kennedy, New Republic, Nov 3.

Those railroad workers, who asked for 30% increase and were awarded 7½%—which is less than the increased cost of living—claim most of them haven't had a raise since 1920.

7) The corruption of a certain number of big newspapers is plainly visible in this fact: there is a syndicated column called "These Days." The author is George E Sokolsky. Mr Sokolsky is a Fascist-minded labor-baiter. That of course is his privilege in a free country. But for the score of newspapers that print Sokolsky, it is another matter. This same Sokolsky, while writing a column as an American journalist, was secretly in the pay of the National Association of Manufacturers. They paid him about \$1,000 a month to fight labor. He fought labor in the NYHerald Tribune, was not fired when exposed. Now he fights labor in the NYSun, which is a Morgan-controlled newspaper, and in many other papers which buy his column. (LaFollette Comm Hearings, Part 25, "Little Steel," p 10319, etc.)

In the Nye munitions hearings it was also testified that Sokolsky while correspondent for the NYTimes dealt in munitions in China. (Munitions Industry Hearings, Part 10; Dec 5, 6, 1934; page 2338.)

There are hundreds of other facts which confirm the general statement that in the labor-government crisis just past the press was not informing the public on the merits of the case but almost unanimously furthering the plan of the National Association of Manufacturers and its hired Congressmen to exploit the opportunity to try to smash organized labor and end the gains won by the majority of the American people under the New Deal.

## NEWS AGENCY "CAUGHT RED-HANDED IN SLANDER"

OF THE three news services which supply most of the news for all the papers, Hearst's International and Howard's United Press are definitely anti-labor, and the Associated Press cannot be called a friend. Frequently it too has been exposed and denounced as favoring the big interests of the publishers who control it. IN FACT is not the only publication which has printed the documentary proof of the corruption of the press and its enmity toward labor, although it is the only publication which is devoted largely to telling the truth about America's main source of falsehood: the press. The present campaign of falsehood is directed against labor. Here, for example, is an exposé of Howard's United Press which serves about half the nation. Under the head "TORY PAPERS ARE CAUGHT RED-HANDED IN SLANDER ON LABOR," the conservative organ of a million railroad workers, "Labor," says (Nov 18):

"One of the most glaring examples of newspaper distortion to injure organized labor was put over the wires of the United Press this week.

"The UP, one of the country's two most powerful news agencies, is controlled by the Scripps-Howard interests, headed by Roy Howard, notorious for his anti-labor policies.

"Scripps-Howard papers for many months have been conducting a vicious campaign against labor, outdoing other reactionary newspapers in the virulence of their smearing and in the violence of their demands for legislative shackles on organized workers.

"Scripps-Howard misrepresentations hit a new low on Saturday when the United Press carried a story ascribed to the Dep't of Labor, in which it was asserted that in the 15 months since the start of the defense program there have been '24, 284, 981 man-days of defense effort' lost because of strikes.

"Then, to make matters worse, the UP story adroitly quoted gov't officials as saying this loss would have been enough to build 10,000 planes.

"Dep't of Labor officials were shocked when they saw the story and promptly

FBI, violating the law, and we protest against the use of the FBI to oppress or harass any labor organizations in the pursuit of their legitimate activities."

8) Denounced the National Labor Relations Board for "bias against the CIO."

9) Endorsed consumer cooperatives.

President Murray also warned the anti-labor poll-tax Congressmen that labor will fight them to a finish.

## Letter to IN FACT

ALTHOUGH IN FACT has no space for letters—thousands in praise, a few critical—it breaks a rule to print an important one:

S S Santa Rosa, Nov 4 1941

"Editor, IN FACT:

"It is with pride and deep appreciation that we inform you that at our last crew joint meeting abroad this ship we unanimously passed the motion to subscribe to your publication for the next two years. Pride—because we have commonsense enough to recognize a friend. (And the good Lord knows Labor needs all the friends it has in these increasingly difficult times.) Deep appreciation—because we know that in IN FACT we have one of the few (and boy, how few!) news releases that is trustworthy and unbiased in its covering of current events.

"It is indeed a sad commentary upon the American masses in general, and the Labor Movement in particular, that we have not, apparently, until recent years finally discovered that the vast overwhelming majority of news agencies and outlets in our country are definitely and viciously anti-union.

"You are espousing a cause that shall not be forgotten or remain unappreciated by the present American laboring masses, and their brothers in the future. One can't help but gain strength and courage from the thought that he or she is known or spoken of as directly opposite such lice as Hearst, Howard, McCormick, Gannett, etc—these sly pimps of our so-called 'free' press.

"We wish you continued success and best wishes in your memorable crusade for a truly free press. Organized Labor is awakening—slowly, it is true—thanks to the incessant prodding of men of your high ideals and self-sacrifice. We sincerely and firmly believe Labor will not forget. Sincerely yours,

Crew, S S Santa Rosa, Grace Line,  
William Penman, Rec Sec'y"

## Facts Versus Falsehood

BECAUSE it is almost impossible for the small free press, the commercialized radio, the public platform and the pulpit, to correct the falsehoods in the big press, and despite the fact that for the past 15 months every campaign in the standard newspapers against what it calls "defense strikes" has been proven totally or partly false, the same press in the past fortnight has (without fear of successful contradiction) repeated its lies.

In its first campaign, in March, the press endorsed the poll-tax Congressmen in their efforts to pass anti-labor legislation which was equivalent to the Mussolini labor charter and Hitler's serfdom. President Roosevelt denounced the falsehood in the newspapers; he said "an erroneous impression" has been produced by newspaper writers and publishers.



"It is a pity," he concluded, "that many people have been led to believe labor disputes are interfering seriously with production." (Press conference, March 4, 1941.) Mr Roosevelt produced the statistics: actually 1/400th of defense industry had been affected.

Economic Outlook (CIO) issued the following factual statement:

1) In 1940 1/10th of 1 day was lost by each worker because of strikes.

2) Five days were lost by each workman because of industrial accidents which employers could have prevented.

3) Eight days were lost by each workman because of illness.

In a press release (March 13) appeared the statement of Sec'y of Navy Knox before House Comm on Navy Appropriations that "much of this agitation and excitement in the newspapers on that subject (defense strikes) is utterly unwarranted." Loss of man-days Knox testified was "negligible."

Today the situation is about the same. Dep't of Labor Nov "Information Bulletin" reports industrial accidents cost US Labor 41,000,000 man-days last year.

### One in Fifty III

US PUBLIC Health Service spokesman, J J Bloomfield, addressing Mississippi Public Health Ass'n, Jackson, Miss, gave following facts:

"It has been estimated that strikes and lockouts have resulted in a loss of 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 man-days during the last year. Both in the press and public forum, grave concern has been shown about the loss in defense production which results from strikes, but absurdly little concern has been shown about the loss in production which results from the labor wastage of 400,000,000 man-days annually through disability from accidents.

"Today there are approximately 52,000,000 persons engaged in physical work. Every day, 2% of this enormous labor force are non-effective because of illness."

Says "Labor": "If 27,000 workers left their jobs every working day because of strikes, labor-haters would set up a terrific clamor. They yell their heads off when a small fraction of that number becomes involved in labor disputes. But the startling disclosure that industry loses that number of workers daily because of preventable eye injuries creates scarcely a ripple. The Nat'l Society for the Prevention of Blindness in reporting this shocking economic loss and sacrifice of human beings, declared that 'there is no need for the blinding of any worker.' Methods to remove hazards have been thoroughly demonstrated, the Society said, but employers refuse to adopt them because that would cost money."

The Michigan State Board of Labor reported in Nov that more than \$25,000,-

demanded a correction. The figure of man-day losses for the 15 months covered all strikes, not those on defense alone, they pointed out. Many such walkouts in department stores, hotels, bakeries, candy plants and hundreds of other establishments have not even a remote connection with defense. Obviously hotel bellhops or store clerks could not be constructing planes, and the inference in the UP story . . . was branded a barefaced deception.

"Of course newspapers throughout the country gave a big 'play' to the story, and some like the Herald Tribune of NY declared in a headline: 'LABOR DEP'T REPORTS 5-MONTH LOSS SUFFICIENT TO BUILD 10,000 PLANES.' The Department said nothing of the kind. To the Department's protest, the UP replied that it was a 'mistake,' but any newspaperman reading the story could see it was not an error, but a deliberate yarn cooked up to discredit labor and inflame public opinion. Tory Congressmen, who are pushing repressive legislation, undoubtedly will make full use of the UP report.

"Anti-labor treatment of the news by the Scripps-Howard interests in recent years contrast sharply with the way these papers handled labor news in the days when 'Old Man' Scripps operated the chain. Labor developments were then treated accurately and intelligently. However, since Roy Howard assumed control, the Scripps-Howard papers have become about the most unfair in the nation, and no falsehood about labor is too base for them to publish."

For the benefit of readers throughout the nation who may not know the ownership of their papers, called most unfair by "Labor," we print the full list: NYWorld-Telegram, Cleveland Press, Pittsburgh Press, Cincinnati Post, Columbus Citizen, San Francisco News, Indianapolis Times, Knoxville News-Sentinel, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Birmingham Post, Albuquerque Tribune, Covington Post, Denver News, Evansville Press, Washington News, Ft Worth Press, El Paso Herald-Post, Houston Press.

In addition to Roy Howard, the men responsible for the perversion of the UP and Scripps-Howard chain are: W W Hawkins, chairman of the board, and John H Sorrells. In addition to an editorial campaign against the best interests of labor, the chain syndicates the anti-labor writings of Pegler and other columnists. It had two liberal pro-labor columnists once, the late Heywood Broun and Harry Elmer Barnes, but did not renew contracts with them. It will not publish any liberal or pro-labor columns.

## AMERICA FIRST, NYC, IN COUGHLIN'S CONTROL

By Morris and Frances Watson

(Editorial note: Morris Watson is a well-known newspaperman. He was fired by the Associated Press for helping organize the Newspaper Guild. It was Watson's suit which resulted in the Supreme Court upholding the Wagner Act, the Magna Carta of labor, under which 11,000,000 Americans now live a better life

When Watson got the following story he offered it to 25 leading papers including San Francisco Chronicle, St Louis Post-Dispatch, Raleigh Observer, Providence Journal, Omaha World-Herald, Chicago Times, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Detroit Free Press, Louisville Courier-Journal and Rocky Mountain News. Every one refused it. The Rocky Mountain News refused to pay press toll on query.

The 8 commercial NY papers were offered the story free and refused it. Watson writes IN FACT: "It may be that my news judgment has dimmed and that we didn't have a story. But Frances and I wonder if the failure of the papers to handle the subject has anything to do with the fact the following big advertisers are represented on the national board of America First: Quaker Oats by R Douglas Stuart Jr; Benton & Bowles by Chester Bowles; Sears, Roebuck by Gen'l Wood; meat packers by Jos Cudahy and Jay Hormel; window shades by Wm H Regnery; Morton Salt by Sterling Morton, and many others.

"Once in an interview with me and others, George Bernard Shaw said 'No American newspaper will print anything contrary to its own interests.' The Associated Press neatly proved his point by cutting that one line from my interview, nor did I see it in any of the papers represented by the other reporters. I can now make the charge that: No American newspaper will print anything in the interest of national defense if it involves any danger of sacrifice in advertising revenue. They will, however, howl long and loud for sacrifices by labor." IN FACT is always glad to print stories suppressed by the newspapers. The Watsons edit "Release," anti-Fascist fortnightly newsletter, 1133 Broadway, 50¢ a year.)

**A** FIERCE struggle for power within the America First Committee has neared the showdown stage in the committee's big New York chapter, with Coughlinite anti-Semitic forces gaining control, plus a coveted place on the national committee.

This victory for Coughlin's followers in NY is ominous in view of the fact that America First's conversion into a political party is imminent. An open, Hitler pattern of Jew-baiting is indicated.

The struggle has been going on for months. The Coughlin triumph was accelerated by Charles A Lindbergh's Des Moines speech Sept 11 in which he accused the Jews of being one of three agencies driving the United States into war.

While this speech was followed by some resignations from America First,

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new members and new money, much of it from Park ave, flowed into NY chapter. This provided the anti-Semitic forces with a lever which the NY chairman, opposing them, could not overcome.

Dr Charles Fleischer, former editor NY American, who resigned when America First refused to repudiate Lindbergh, has revealed the inner struggle. Others, among them members of the staff who have resigned or been dismissed as result of the fight, corroborate and add to the facts.

Chairman of NY chapter is John T Flynn, old-time liberal of considerable fame. Spokesman for the Coughlin forces, according to Fleischer and others, is Edwin S Webster, Jr, secretary of the chapter.

Webster is senior partner of Kidder, Peabody & Co, big Wall St investment firm, but devotes full time to America First.

"Flynn and Webster have been at sword's point over policy from the very beginning," says Dr Fleischer. "Webster has been bringing all possible pressure to squeeze Flynn out. He is reported to have given \$25,000 to the national committee recently to consolidate his own position. I am sure that Flynn is on the way out—and that it is a matter of only a few weeks until this happens." Others also confirm the \$25,000 donation and say that Webster's recent appointment to the national committee was a result of it.

Both Flynn and Webster have made frequent trips to Chicago to plead against each other before National Chairman Robert E Wood, with Webster winning favor.

Webster's constant companion outside of office hours is Robert Harriss, manager for Coughlin's business enterprises and publisher of Coughlin's magazine Social Justice. Webster's bodyguard, George Smythe, formerly was Coughlin's bodyguard. Although he frequently travels with Webster to and from major America First rallies in other cities, Harriss never goes into the New York office.

According to Dr Fleischer, Flynn has felt that the anti-Semitic following of America First would injure its prestige. He long had a standing order that all applicants for membership be asked if they belong to any Fascist group. Nevertheless, Christian Fronters and members of other anti-Semitic groups denied such connections and signed up. Webster is credited with bringing them in.

Flynn's battle has been a losing one ever since the Lindbergh speech. Dr Fleischer said the shift of power from Flynn to Webster was confirmed when sizable contributions began pouring in from "persons in high social standing," mostly Park Ave, as result of the speech.

Flynn has gone to Chicago several times and attempted to get Webster removed from office. Other followers of Flynn, including Katrina McCormick, daughter of Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms and niece of the publisher of the Chicago Tribune, also pleaded against Webster. Webster got wind of this and rushed to Chicago. The upshot was the appointment of two new members of the national committee—Webster and Mrs Simms. Webster is reported to have sweetened the original \$25,000 donation with another \$10,000.

Since then all attempts to keep anti-Semites out of America First have failed. Flynn discharged the man in charge of street meetings for making anti-Semitic speeches and sending out other anti-Semitic speakers. Immediately Webster transferred the man to the Brooklyn chapter, out of Flynn's jurisdiction.

Another anti-Semitic speaker proscribed by Flynn was Chester Apy, Wall Street operator and chairman of a New Jersey chapter of America First. When Flynn ordered Apy out of NY rallies, Webster promptly booked him for an important meeting at Bridgeport, Conn.

America First has a storefront headquarters in most Congressional districts in New York, in preparation for becoming a political party. Known Coughlinites are always present in these headquarters as well as in the main chapter office at 515 Madison Ave. One research worker employed at the Madison Ave office is a lieutenant of Joe McWilliams who served a jail sentence for violent Jew-baiting.

Conspicuous at America First rallies in the city are such open Fascists as Merwin K Hart, Boris Brasol, who arranged for printing of the forged "Protocols of Zion," and William J Baxter, author of the book "Japan and America Must Work Together." Flynn ordered McWilliams escorted from a rally at Madison Square Garden last April. At more recent rallies anti-Semites have been invited to sit on the platform as honored guests by Webster.

000 in lost time was caused by industrial accidents in 6 months.

## Hearst Censorship

FOR months after the completion of Orson Welles' movie "Citizen Kane" William Randolph Hearst tried everything he could think of to prevent its release, because the picture is in part a (mild) criticism of his career. Failing in that, he barred all mention of the movie in his critics' columns and his writers have been sniping at Welles ever since.

Finally "Citizen Kane" got around to Los Angeles. The Los Angeles News and Times carried the regular ad for the Hawaii Theater—"Orson Welles—CITIZEN KANE." Hearst's Herald Express and Examiner had a problem. They solved it by making the theater delete Welles' name and the name of the picture. In the Hearst papers the same ad read "BIG SCREEN ATTRACTION!" and nothing more.

## Labor on the Air

CONSTRUCTIVE action to combat anti-labor propaganda on the radio is under way in California, where San Francisco unions have voted to pay a cent a week per member to support the pro-labor program "This Is Our America." The program has enlisted the free services of members of the Screen Actors' Guild, the Musicians' Union and associated A F of L crafts. It is being sponsored on a statewide basis by the California State Federation of Labor. Cost, \$1,000 a week, which means 100,000 union members will pay for it.

## Gallup Poll Challenged

CHARGES that the Gallup Poll, conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, is "a dud" were made by Labor, Rochester AFL paper. The accusations were based on the Gallup poll of Nov 2, which reported that unionists oppose defense strikes and favor anti-strike legislation by 3 to 2. These conclusions were based on answers given by 1/10,000th of the labor union membership in the US.

Following publication of the Nov 2 poll in Rochester press, Labor made a survey to find out whether any AFL unionists in the area had ever been questioned by Gallup representatives. Labor interviewed hundreds of union members and 25 local union officials, but failed to find one who had ever been approached.

Pres Hendy O O'Connell of Central Trades & Labor Council declared: "The Gallup poll is doing a good job of placing labor in a bad light. It's a Gallup, all right and they're taking labor for a ride."

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